262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

●871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291/ SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

622 tahsildar (district official and judge) in Leh; he had the duty of calling
651 up the farmers for forced labor (the building of roads and bridges, transport service with horses and carriers, and the like) which the government decreed; and he was also responsible for peace and order in the village. This position caused the father much exertion and worry as well as a lot of annoyance whenever the farmers did not want to obey his orders or did not pay the taxes. In bad cases, the policeman who traveled around the district would have to enforce the orders with a whip, and he did so extensively except when someone pressed a coin into his hand which ordinarily put him immediately into a very indulgent mood.

871 With these prospects Namgyal now set about school learning. Two to three times a week he went with a few comrades to the Lama Dondrub who belonged to the large monastery Lamayuru in the neighboring village, and who inhabited a small hermitage here in Kalatse at the edge of the village. He came from the Break-leg house and was, like his brother, sly, cunning, quarrelsome and used his position as village priest to plague and impoverish his fellow villagers and "penitents." Keeping school /50/ was entrusted to him because there was no one else to be had for the job. In winter, when all field work was at a standstill, he instructed the youths desirous of learning--only boys, never girls--who were never very numerous. As compensation for his efforts the father of one of his pupils would now and then give him a sack of barley or a piece of butter, but this did not happen too often [illegible] he knew how to look out for himself. Education was still
876 on very low level in the country. Lama Dondrub now endeavored to initiate his pupils into the mysteries of Tibetan script. On sunny winter days he would sit with the studious boys on the flat roof of a house, each one a sheet of rough Tibetan paper in his hand on which the Lama had written Tibetan letters and words. With a loud, rasping voice he would read out: "ka, kha, ga, nga," the first letters of the alphabet, and the chorus answered in the same tone of voice, the little alphabetarians rocking their bodies back and forth exactly the way their teacher did When the 30 letters of the alphabet were firmly implanted in their heads and could be rattled off, he started them on the reading and spelling of simple words. It was a laborious, slow undertaking, a mechanical and dull repeating and mimicking, and yet they had progressed so far by the end of the winter that they could read short sentences. The main difficulty was presented by the many prefixes and suffixes, letters placed in front of the words and syllables,

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he nevertheless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

797 Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

871

Moravian Mission schools.

Schools are in existence at both stations, at Pú for boys as well as for girls, while at Kyelang at present only one for girls is attached to the Mission; about thirty girls receive instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, religious instruction, singing, sewing, and knitting stockings, &c. Pupils of Christian parents attend the whole year; non-Christians only during the winter months; the latter being employed by their parents otherwise during summer. Several schools for boys were formerly connected with the Mission in different villages of Láhaul, the aim of all being to impart a good primary education suiting a rural population, among which the Mission chiefly works. After a course of five years or less, the boys were dismissed to their homes, others taking their place. Of late, however, circumstances arose which made it desirable to amalgamate these schools into one Government School at Kyelang, and thus it came about that the Mission, at least for the present, has no boys' school. The number of pupils at Kyelang is at present about thirty girls, at Pú about ten girls and from ten to [illegible]en boys.

872

797

As to literary works the Mission has published ten school books, including a geographical work with maps and compendiums of general and sacred history; one small and two large Dictionaries in the Tibetan language (Tibetan-English and Tibetan-German); the New Testament has been translated and printed, or rather is at present issuing from the press in Europe, while portions of the Old Testament are also ready for the press, &c., &c.

000 Language.

The language of the whole Kúlu sub-division has been fully discussed in Part II (pages 33—35).

184 Education.

871

212

In Láhaul a comparatively large proportion of the population can read and write Tánkri, Pahári and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced here than in Kúlu. The *lámás* can all read the printed character: but they are not all able to write Tibetan; and they do not as a rule know Tánkri. The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhaulis engaging generally in trade both with Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widely spread among them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhaul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught, boys having to pass through a course of Tibetan before they are admitted into the Urdu classes. Still here, as in Kúlu, education is considered as a species of *begár* or forced labour: and the parent expects to be exempted from carrying loads and so forth, while his son is at school. In Spiti education is at its lowest. Few can read, and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown; and an interpreter is kept to translate for the Nono's benefit the few orders that relate to that part of the subdivision. There is no school in Spiti.

651

142 Appearance of the people.

At first sight of the people of Spiti and Láhaul you perceive that you have left India, and are among a Tartar or Mongol race. The figures, both of men and women, are short and stout; their complexions are a ruddy brown instead of a black brown or dusky yellow: their faces are broad and flat, with high cheek bones and oblique eyes; they have broad mouths and flat noses with wide nostrils. Except in extreme youth, the skin of

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS.

961
133
[197]
[205]
[871]

The principal villages of Láhaul are Kyelang, Kardong and Kolang. Kyelang is situated on the main trade route beween the Rohtáng and Bára Lácha passes, on the right bank of the river Bhága about four miles above its junction with the Chandra. Here a post office is maintained during the summer months, and a Moravian mission has been for some years established. The mission-house is a substantial residence, the lower apartment of which is used as a chapel. A school supported by a grant from the Government is managed entirely by the Missionaries.* Kardong lies on the left bank of the Bhága almost immediately opposite Kyelang, and is spoken of by Capt. Harcourt as at once the largest and most striking village in the valley. The houses are better built than in other villages. Kolang, which is the residence of the Thákur of Láhaul, is also situated in the Bhága valley, on the right bank about ten miles above Kyelang. The largest village probably in Spiti is Rangrig on the right bank of the Spiti river. The name is said to mean town. Dankar, the capital of Spiti, is a large village, 12,774 feet above the sea, built on a spur or bluff which stands out into the main valley and ends in a precipice. The softer parts of this hill have been worn away, leaving blocks and columns of a hard conglomerate, among which the houses are perched in curious and inconvenient positions. On the top of a hill is a large house known as the fort, which, with some cultivated land attached, belongs to Government. On a point of the hill lower down is a large monastery. The aspect of the whole place is very picturesque. It has been the seat of Government of the country from time immemorial.

* Capt. Harcourt pays a high tribute of admiration to the zeal and energy of the Missionaries, Mr Behler and Mr. Heyde, and acknowledges the important services rendered by them to the administration. They are looked up to as friends and protectors by every inhabitant of the valley, though in the matter of conversions to Christianity they have had but little success.

P. 149

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the organized activities of the church. There are few schools for children run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony.

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *màni* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see.

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios.

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the "writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 871 lighted and full of scheming devils, learns about the paintings
532 from the lamas. He first learns of devils and demons from the lips
869 of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up, from the legends of pass poison, evil demons, revengeful gods that men in the caravans relate. And when he goes to the monasteries, the stories he has heard at home are confirmed. The lamas put on their dances and out come Lust, Anger, and Greed in person. Even the most stupid person can see them in all their ugliness. Thus are the natives indoctrinated with fears and superstitions. The devils are always present; they are a factor never forgotten in the daily life of the Ladakhis. A Ladakhi burns incense to sanctify his house. He spins his prayer wheel and observes the ritual of the *mani* walls and *chhortens*. And to gain religious merit, he goes on a pilgrimage, sometimes to India proper, in search of the river of mystery in the fashion of the lama immortalized by Kipling's *Kim*.

792 Rahul, devout Buddhist and a prominent layman in the church,
876 made a speech a year or so ago saying the monasteries should become educational centers, bringing in the children from the surrounding areas and teaching them. The wrath of the lamas descended on Rahul. He was severely taken to task.

"Why?" I ventured to ask.

"Because the power of the lamas is in part due to the ignorance of the people," Rahul answered. "That is the reason why Tibet has been the forbidden land. The lamas do not want ideas from the outside world to reach their people. Ideas, you know, can be disturbing."

That is why travel of foreigners throughout the whole area was long restricted. That is why lamas, fearful of the importation of ideas, would sometimes turn bandits loose on travelers. That is why, even today, the educational activities of monasteries—apart from their perpetuation of superstition—are practically nil.

792 Lamaism has a vested interest not only in the ignorance of the people but in their poverty as well. Poverty and ignorance, in

212

857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a
511 *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
592 there are only girls in the family, what usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*